

Message Text

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HOLD FOR OPENING OF BUSINESS

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QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 18119

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, UR, US

SUBJECT: CSCE IMPLEMENTATION: NEXT APPROACH TO SOVIET MFA

REF: (A) STATE 276093, (B) STATE 260865, (C) STATE 213910 NOTAL

1. SUMMARY. THE FIRST PART OF THIS MESSAGE DISCUSSES
ISSUES EMBASSY BELIEVES SHOULD BE DEALT WITH IN FORUMLAT-
ING NEXT CSCE APPROACH TO SOVIETS. IT RECOMMENDS SITUATING
NEXT BILATERAL PRESENTATION HERE WITHIN OVERALL U.S. AND
WESTERN CSCE APPROACH AS DESCRIBED REF A, IN SPECIFIC WAYS,
AND DESIGNING A PRESENTATION WHICH MAKES CLEAR TO SOVIETS
THAT VISIBLE RECORD OF IMPLEMENTATION STEPS IS BEST WAY
TO AVOID PILLORY AT BELGRADE; WHICH SUGGESTS STRONGLY
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THAT OUR DEMARCHE REFLECTS GENERAL WESTERN STRATEGY TO
MAKE BELGRADE CONSTRUCTIVE BUT ALSO SUBSTANTIVE; AND WHICH LEAVES
OPEN POSSIBILITY OF WORKING TOGETHER WITH SOVIETS BEFORE
AND AT BELGRADE IF RECORD IS GOOD ENOUGH. THE SECOND
PART IS DRAFT TEXT OF A NON-PAPER FOR DEPARTMENT'S
REVIEW, EMBODYING EMBASSY'S RECOMMENDATIONS BOTH ON

THRUST OF APPROACH AND ON SPECIFIC TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION
IN ALL THREE CSCE BASKETS. END SUMMARY.

2. INTRODUCTION. THE EMBASSY CONCURS WITH THE DEPARTMENT'S VIEW THAT ANOTHER APPROACH TO THE SOVIET MFA ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN IN THE NEAR FUTURE, AND WELCOMES THE OPPORTUNITY TO PRESENT RECOMMENDATIONS ON SUBSTANCE AND TIMING AND TO CONTRIBUTE TO DEVELOPMENT OF PRESENTATION. AT THE SAME TIME, THE EMBASSY BELIEVES IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO MAKE THIS PRESENTATION AS PERFECTLY CONSISTENT AS POSSIBLE WITH THE U.S. APPROACH TO CSCE FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS IN BELGRADE NEXT YEAR AND WITH THE DEVELOPING WESTERN CONSENSUS ON STRATEGY FOR BELGRADE, AS DESCRIBED IN REF A. THE FIRST PART OF THIS MESSAGE IDENTIFIES ISSUES WHICH WILL NEED TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN ENSURING THIS CONSISTENCY. THE SECOND PART, A DRAFT TEXT OF NON-PAPER FOR PRESENTATION TO SOVIETS, EMBODIES EMBASSY'S SUBSTANTIVE RECOMMENDATIONS. PART 1 -ISSUES OF SUBSTANCE AND TIMING.

3. WE HAVE HAD FIVE EXCHANGES WITH THE SOVIETS AT CHIEF-OF-MISSION LEVEL HERE (OCTOBER 14 AND NOVEMBER 12, 1975, MARCH 3 AND MAY 3, 1976, AND JULY 2, 1976). THESE EXCHANGES HAVE SERVED TO RECORD GENERAL SERIOUSNESS AND GOOD WILL, AND SPECIFIC COMPLAINTS, ON BOTH SIDES. AGAINST BACKDROP OF CONCRETE IMPLEMENTATION STEPS TAKEN DURING FIFTEEN MONTHS SINCE HELSINKI, THEY HAVE CONSTITUTED A KIND OF THERMOMETER OF ATTITUDES, IN BILATERAL CONTEXT, TOWARD GENERAL POLITICAL ISSUE OF CSCE IMPLEMENTATION. AT THE VERY LEAST, THE FURTHER DEMARCHE NOW
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PLANNED WOULD CONTINUE THIS PATTERN. SINCE THE INITIATIVE HAS BEEN AMERICAN THROUGHOUT, THE PATTERN SERVES TO ESTABLISH A RECORD OF U.S. INTENT SINCE THE FINAL ACT WAS SIGNED.

4. AS A RESULT OF TWO NEW FACTORS, HOWEVER, THE NEXT DEMARCHE IN MOSCOW WILL ALMOST INEVITABLY BE READ AS A SIGNAL OF U.S. INTENT WITH REGARD TO EAST-WEST RELATIONS AS A WHOLE IN THE UPCOMING PERIOD:

-- FIRST, JUNE 15, 1977, WHEN THE BELGRADE MEETINGS OPEN, IS NOW THE NEXT MAJOR MANDATORY DEADLINE IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS: ITS SHADOW EXTENDS BACKWARD IN TIME, AND WILL NECESSARILY FALL ON OUR NEXT CSCE APPROACH TO THE SOVIETS;

-- SECOND, THE FACT THAT THE TRANSITION TO A NEW U.S. ADMINISTRATION HAS NOW BEGUN WILL PARTLY CONDITION THE

SOVIET INTERPRETATION OF OUR NEXT DEMARCHE.

5. SINCE OUR NEXT CSCE MOVE WILL BE READ AS A SIGNAL, THE EMBASSY BELIEVES IT IS IMPORTANT TO MAKE IT THE RIGHT KIND OF SIGNAL. IT WILL NOT BE ADEQUATE, IN OUR VIEW, TO RETREAD FAMILIAR GROUND -- REITERATING SERIOUSNESS AND GOOD WILL, REPEATING AND REBUTTING FAMILIAR COMPLAINTS. AT BEST, AN ESSENTIALLY REPETITIVE APPROACH WOULD BE TAKEN BY THE SOVIETS AS A SIGN OF UNCERTAINTY, AT WORST AS A CAUSE OF GRAVE FOREBODING. IT SHOULD ALREADY BE POSSIBLE, AS WE SEE IT, TO AVOID THIS AMBIGUITY BY MAKING A PRESENTATION WHICH PROVIDES THE SOVIETS WITH AN ACCURATE VIEW OF ESSENTIAL U.S. POLICY CONTINUITY, WITH THE ACCURATE IMPRESSION THAT WE SEE REAL POSSIBILITIES FOR IMPORTANT NEW OPTIONS IN THE CONTINUING EAST-WEST DIALOGUE ON CSCE.

6. REF A, WHICH SETS FORTH THE U.S. APPROACH TO THE BEL-
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GRADE MEETINGS, PROVIDES A SUPERB CHARTER IN FORMULATING OUR NEXT APPROACH HERE. TO GIVE THE SOVIETS AN ACCURATE READING OF U.S. INTENTION FOR THE FUTURE, THE NEXT DEMARCHE IN MOSCOW SHOULD BE SITUATED FIRMLY WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF OUR OVERALL APPROACH. SPECIFICALLY, IT SHOULD:

--BE CLEARLY LABELLED AS A DEMONSTRATION OF U.S. POLICY CONTINUITY FROM THIS ADMINISTRATION TO THE NEXT;

--BUILD EXPLICITLY ON PREVIOUS EXCHANGES, IN FORM AND CONTENT;

-- ADD NEW ELEMENTS IN ALL THREE CSCE BASKETS, BUT STRESS BASKET 111 AND EXPLAIN WHY:

-- STRICTLY AVOID ADVERSE EFFECTS ON THE WESTERN CONCEPT OF THE STATUS OF THE FINAL ACT AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION, IN KEEPING WITH GUIDELINES IN STATE 213910;

-- REMAIN WITHIN THE BOUNDS OF THE DEVELOPING WESTERN CONSENSUS CONCERNING BELGRADE; AND

-- MAINTAIN INTACT THE U.S. STRATEGIC OPTIONS.

7. WHILE IT IS OBVIOUSLY PREMATURE TO DEFINE U.S. OPTIONS WITH ANY PRECISION AT THIS POINT, THEY WILL CLEARLY FALL WITHIN A SPECTRUM WHICH RUNS FROM WORKING BEHIND THE SCENES WITH THE SOVIETS TO MAKE BELGRADE AS UNCONTENTIOUS AND INSIGNIFICANT AS POSSIBLE, ON THE ONE HAND, AND LEADING OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES AND THE EUROPEAN NEUTRALS IN AN

ASSAULT ON THE SOVIET CSCE IMPLEMENTATION RECORD AND ON THE GOOD FAITH OF SOVIET SUPPORT FOR RELAXATION OF EAST-WEST TENSIONS, ON THE OTHER. THE APPROACH RECOMMENDED BY THE EMBASSY, AS ILLUSTRATED IN PART 11 BELOW, (1) MAKES CLEAR TO THE SOVIETS THAT THE BEST WAY TO AVOID THE PILLORY AT BELGRADE IS A STEADY, VISIBLE RECORD OF IMPLEMENTATION
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STEPS, (2) IMPLIES STRONGLY THAT OUR DEMARCHE REFLECTS A GENERAL WESTERN STRATEGY TO MAKE THE BELGRADE MEETINGS A CONSTRUCTIVE BUT ALSO SUBSTANTIVE FURTHER STEP IN IMPROVING EAST-WEST RELATIONS, AND (3) LEAVES OPEN THE POSSIBILITY THAT, GIVEN A DEFENSIBLE SOVIET RECORD, SOVIET GOOD WILL AND A GOOD ATMOSPHERE IN U.S. - SOVIET RELATIONS GENERALLY, WE CAN WORK TOGETHER BEFORE AND AT BELGRADE TO PRODUCE A GENERALLY SATISFACTORY RESULT.

8. WE ASSUME THAT THIS DRAFT WILL BE REVIEWED IN WASHINGTON AGENCIES CONCERNED WITH THE SUBJECT MATTER, PARTICULARLY INsofar AS ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES ARE DISCUSSED, SINCE MANY MAY HAVE PERTINENT INFORMATION AND VIEWS BEARING DIRECTLY ON THE PROBLEMS CITED AND THE RECOMMENDATIONS WE HAVE MADE. ONCE THE TEXT OF A DEMARCHE IS APPROVED IN WASHINGTON, THE EMBASSY RECOMMENDS THAT USNATO BE AUTHORIZED TO INFORM THE ALLIES OF OUR INTENTION TO MAKE IT AND OF ITS GENERAL THRUST, AT WHATEVER LEVEL OF DETAIL THE DEPARTMENT CONSIDERS ADVISABLE. THE EMBASSY CONTINUES TO DOUBT THAT PRIOR CONSULTATION IN THE ALLIANCE SHOULD AUTOMATICALLY PRECEDE STEPS IN THE U.S.- SOVIET BILATERAL DIALOGUE ON CSCE. IN CONSULTING WITH THE ALLIES CONCERNING THIS PARTICULAR APPROACH, IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR USNATO TO REMIND THEM THAT CSCE IMPLEMENTATION MUST PROCEED ALONG A VARIETY OF BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL TRACKS IF IT IS TO BECOME A PERMANENT FEATURE OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS. AT THE SAME TIME, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE MOST USEFUL AT THIS RELATIVELY EARLY STAGE OF ALLIANCE PREPARATIONS FOR BELGRADE TO RECONFIRM THE RECORD OF U.S. LEADERSHIP IN INTRA-ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS ON ALL ASPECTS OF IMPLEMENTATION.

9. THE TIMING OF THE DEMARCHE WILL
DEPEND TO AN IMPORTANT EXTENT ON THE EFFICIENCY OF THE COORDINATION PROCESS IN WASHINGTON. AND, IF OUR RECOMMENDATION IN
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PARA 8 ABOVE IS ACCEPTED, ON THAT OF THE ALLIANCE CONSULTATION PROCESS IN BRUSSELS. FOR OUR PART , WE BELIEVE THAT THE SOONER THE DEMARCHE CAN BE MADE THE MORE USEFUL IT WILL BE.

PART 11 - DRAFT THEXT OF US NON-PAPER ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION.

10. BEGIN TEXT. OUR PREVIOUS EXCHANGES FOLLOWING CONCLUSION OF THE CONFERNECE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE HAVE PROVIDED BOTH SIDES WITH USEFUL OPPORTUNITIES TO REAFFIRM THE IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACH TO THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE TO PRESENT VIEWS AND IDENTIFY ISSUES OF MUTUAL INTEREST AND CONCERN RELATED TO THE CONFERENCE, AND CONTINUE THE DIALOGUE IN THE SPIRIT OF CONSTRUCTIVE COOPERATION BETWEEN THEM WHICH MARKED THE CONFERENCE ITSELF.

11. WE BELIEVE IT IS OPPORTUNE TO RENEW THE DIALOGUE CONCERNING THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE AT THIS TIME. THE AMERICAN SIDE CONTINUES TO ATTACHE HIGH IMPORTANCE TO THE CONFERENCE AND TO THE FINAL ACT SIGNED AT HELSINKI. TOGETHER WITH OUR ALLIES, WE ARE NOW AT THE BEGINNING OF THE PROCESS OF PREPARING FOR THE REVIEW MEETINGS SCHEDULED TO OPEN AT BELGRADE ON JUNE 15, 1977. IT IS OUR IMPRESSION THAT THE SOVIET SIDE, TOO, WILL BE TAKING EH NEED TO PREPARE FOR THESE MEETINGS INCREASINGLY INTO ACCOUT IN THE COMING MONTHS. INITIATION OF PRE-PARATIONS FOR THE REVIEW MEETINGS GIVES US ADDITIONAL INCENTIVE TO APPROACH OUR EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE IN A CONSTRUCTIVE, NON POLEMICAL SPIRIT. WE WOULD LIKE THE REVIEW MEETINGS TO CONSTITUTE ANOTHER POSITIVE STEP ON THE PATH OF RELAXING INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS WHICH LED ALL THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONFERENCE TO HELSINKI AND BEYOND. WE WELCOME OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO HELP BRING ABOUT SUCH A RESULT.

12. IN OUR VIEW, THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT WAS BOTH STRONG EVIDENCE FOR FAVORABLE TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
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IN RECENT YEARS, ESPECIALLY IN EUROPE, AND PROGRAM FOR FURTHER PROGRESS IN THE SAME DIRECTION. IN OTHER WORD, SIGNATORIES TOOK UPON THEMSELVES A POLITICIAL COMMITMENT FULLY TO IMPLEMENT THE PRINCIPLES AND AGREEMENTS EMBODIES IN THE FINAL ACT. WITHOUT REFERENCE TO FURTHER NEGOTIATION WITH OTHER PARTICIPATING STATES EXCEPT WHERE SPECIFICALLY INDICATED IN THE FINAL ACT, AS A CONTRIBUTION TO SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. AS INDICATED IN PREVIOUS EXCHANGES, IT IS THEREFORE OUR VIEW THAT FOR THE MOST PART FULL IMPLEMENTATION IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF EACH PARTICIPATING STATE, FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL. AT THE SAME TIME, IT SEEMS TO US EVIDENT THAT FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT, ON THE ONE HAND, AND STEPS TO

RELAX TENSIONS WHICH GO BEYOND THE FINAL ACT., ON THE OTHR,
ARE MUTUALLY SUPPORTIVE AND BENEFICIAL.

13. LIKE OTHER PARTICIPATING STATES, OUR TWO SIDES HAVE PROVIDED USEFUL EXAMPLES OF BOTH IMPLEMENATATION AND FURTHER PROGRESS SINCE THE FINAL ACT WAS SIGNED. AS NOTED IN PREVIOUS EXCHANGES, THERE HAVE BEEN POSITIVE STEPS CONCERNING VISAS AND WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS, NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS, AND INVITATION OF OBSERVERS TO MANEUVERS. THERE HAVE BEEN SMALL POSITIVE STEPS CONCERNING VISAS AND WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS, NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS, AND INVITATION OF OBSERVERS TO MANEUVERS. THERE HAVE BEEN SMALL POSITIVE STEPS TO FACILITATE TRAVEL BY THE CITIZENS OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES. AT THE SAME TIME, WE HAVE GONE BEYOND THE LETTER OF THE FINAL ACT IN OUR BILATERAL REVIEWWS OF CULTURAL EXCHANGES AND CONSULAR RELATIONS, WHILE PURSUING THE SEARCH FOR CONCRETE IMPROVEMENTS IN KEEPING WITH ITS SPIRIT. IN THE CASE OF CONSULAR RELATIONS, WE ARE PREPARED TO RENEW THE DISCUSSION WHICH TOOK PLACE EARLIER THIS YEAR, AND HOPE THAT THE SOVIETS SIDDE CAN JOIN US IN THE NEAREST FUTURE. THUS, WE HAVE PROVED TOGETHER THAT HELSINKI CAN BE BOTH A LANDMARK AND AN INCENTIVE.

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14. AS WE APPROACH THE REVIEW MEETINGS IN BELGRADE, THE AMERICAN SIDE BELIEVES IT WILL BE OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE TO DEMONSTRATE THE CONTINUING COMMITMENT OF ALL PARTICIPATING STATES TO THE FULLEST POSSIBLE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PRINCIPLES AND AGREEMENTS EMBODIED IN THE FINAL ACT, AND TO FURTHER STEPS ALONG THE PATH MARKED OUT AT HELSINKI.

15. FOR OUR PART, THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT REMAINS STRONG AND FIRM. AMERICAN PUBLIC INTEREST IN AND SUPPORT OF FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT, IN ALL ITS PARTS, HAS BEEN MANIFEST SINCE HELSINKI. THERE IS EVERY REASON TO CONSIDER IT A PERMANENT FEATURE OF THE AMERICAN POLICY APPROACH. CERTAINLY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT SUPPORTS AND WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THIS COMMITMENT, IN KEEPING WITH OUR NATIONAL TRADITIONS. THE AMERICAN PUBLIC AND CONGRESS ATTACH SPECIAL IMPORTANCE TO PROGRESS CONCERNING COOPERATION IN HUMANITARIAN AND OTHER FIELDS. AT THE SAME TIME, PUBLIC INTEREST IN AND GOVERNMENT SUPPORT FOR IMPLEMENTATION EXTENDS TO ALL PART OF THE FINAL ACT WITHOUT EXCEPTION, TO ALL THE ISSUES DEALT WITH AT THE CONFERENCE, AND TO ALL PARTICIPANTS, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES.

16. AS AN EXAMPLE, ESTABLISHMENT OF THE LEGISLATIVE EXECUTIVE

"CSCF COMMISSION" IS A REFLECTION OF INTEREST IN THE CONFERENCE AND IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS RESULTS WHICH IS SHARED BY THE CONGRESS THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND THE AMERICAN PUBLIC. IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT WE REGRET YOUR DECISION NOT TO PROVIDE VISAS FOR MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION IN CONNECTION WITH ITS EUROPEAN STUDY TRIP, WHOSE AIMS WAS TO CONDUCT SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS ON PARTICIPATING STATES' VIEWS CONCERNING THE CONFERENCE AND ITS RESULTS, ACROSS THE FULL RANGE OF ISSUES.

17. WE WOULD LIKE TO BE CONFIDENT THAT OUR COMMITMENT TO IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT IS SHARED BY ALL THE OTHER PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONFERENCE. WE KNOW IT IS SHARED BY OUR CONFIDENTIAL

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ALLIES: IT IS OUR HOPE THAT OUR SOVIET PARTNERS SHARE IT ALSO. IT SEEMS TO US TO PROVIDE A GOOD AND SUFFICIENT BASIS FOR EXPECTING THAT THE BELGRADE REVIEW MEETINGS WILL BE A POSITIVE STEP TOWARD RELAXATION OF TENSIONS, AS WE DESIRE.

18. TO ENSURE THIS RESULT, IT WILL BE IMPORTANT OVER THE COMING MONTHS TO CONSOLIDATE THE PROGRESS MADE SINCE HELSINKI WITH A CONSISTENT RECORD OF CONCRETE IMPROVEMENTS IMPLEMENTING THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE, AND IF POSSIBLE GOING BEYOND THEM. BELOW WE HAVE FORMULATED A NUMBER OF CONSIDERATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS WITH THIS IN MIND.

19. IT WILL BE NOTED THAT THESE SUGGESTIONS IDENTIFY WHAT WE SEE AS OPPORTUNITIES FOR PROGRESS IN ALL AREAS COVERED BY THE FINAL ACT. AGAIN, THIS ILLUSTRATES OUR COMMITMENT TO FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL FINAL ACT PROVISIONS WITHOUT EXCEPTION. ON THE SOVIET SIDE, WE PERCEIVE AN INCLINATION TO STRESS THOSE ELEMENTS OF THE FINAL ACT WHERE PARTICIPATING STATES REAFFIRM COMMITMENTS OF A GENERAL CHARACTER, FOR INSTANCE IN THE SECURITY AREA. THIS INCLINATION WAS EVIDENT, FOR EXAMPLE, IN THE DOCUMENT SIGNED AT THE CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES IN EAST BERLIN, WHERE THERE WAS A STRIKING DISPARITY BETWEEN THE ATTENTION DEVOTED TO SECURITY AND THE ATTENTION DEVOTED TO COOPERATION IN OTHER FIELDS. OUR APPROACH IS DIFFERENT. WE SEEK TO IDENTIFY AREAS WHERE OPPORTUNITIES FOR IMPROVEMENT, FOR CONCRETE AND SPECIFIC STEPS TO IMPLEMENT THE FINAL ACT, APPEAR MOST FREQUENTLY. SINCE MOST SUCH OPPORTUNITIES, IN OUR VIEW, ARE IN THE AREA OF CO-OPERATION IN HUMANITARIAN AND OTHER FIELDS, MOST OF THE SUGGESTIONS MADE BELOW RELATE TO THIS AREA. AT THE SAME TIME, WE WOULD WELCOME SOVIET SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING OPPORTUNITIES FOR PROGRESS IN OTHER AREAS COVERED BY THE FINAL ACT, AS WELL AS IN THIS ONE.

20. WITH REGARD TO QUESTIONS RELATING TO SECURITY IN EUROPE, WE BELIEVE IMPLEMENTATION HAS BEEN GENERALLY SATISFYING TO THE PARTICIPATING STATES, PARTICULARLY

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WITH REGARD TO CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES, DESPITE RESTRICTIVE INTERPRETATIONS CONCERNING CERTAIN OF THESE LATTER COMMITMENTS. WE WOULD APPRECIATE EXPRESSIONS OF THE SOVIET VIEW CONCERNING THIS IMPORTANT AREA. FOR OUR PART, IN THE SPIRIT OF THE FINAL ACT PROVISION THAT PARTICIPATING STATES "WILL, WITH DUE REGARD TO RECIPROCITY AND WITH A VIEW TO BETTER MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING, PROMOTE EXCHANGES BY INVITATION AMONG THEIR MILITARY PERSONNEL, INCLUDING VISITS BY MILITARY DELEGATIONS," WE PROPOSE DISCUSSION BETWEEN OUR TWO SIDES OF:

- (A) EXCHANGES OF LECTURES AT MILITARY EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS DURING THE SCHOOL YEAR 1977-1978; AND
- (B) EXCHANGES OF DELEGATIONS FROM SENIOR SERVICE COLLEGES, EITHER STUDENTS OR STAFF OR BOTH.

21. WITH REGARD TO COOPERATION IN THE FIELD OF ECONOMIC, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND THE ENVIRONMENT, WE SEE FIVE POINTS WHERE IMPROVEMENT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE, GIVEN THE REQUISITE GOOD WILL ON ALL SIDES:

(A) CONCERNING COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES, THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES TO SUBSCRIBE TO THE LANGUAGE OF THE FINAL ACT. WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE MORE ATTENTION DEVOTED TO THE GROWTH AND DIVERSIFICATION OF TRADE, WIDENING THE RANGE OF CHOICE OF PRODUCTS. CREATION OF MORE FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR THE PARTICIPATION OF FIRMS, ORGANIZATIONS AND ENTERPRISES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE IS AN ESSENTIAL STEP TOWARDS ACHIEVEMENT OF THE GOALS ENVISIONED IN THE FINAL ACT. WITH REGARD TO MOST-FAVORED-NATION TREATMENT, THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES FULLY TO SUBSCRIBE TO THE LANGUAGE OF THE FINAL ACT WHICH RELATES TO THIS ISSUE. OUR EFFORTS WITH REGARD TO UNITED STATES LEGISLATION AND MOST-FAVORED-NATION TREATMENT ARE WELL KNOWN, AND WILL CONTINUE.

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(B) CONCERNING ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL INFORMATION, WE WELCOME AS A SMALL BUT USEFUL FIRST STEP THE DECISION OF SOVIET AUTHORITIES TO BEGIN PUBLISHING SOME SELECTED FOREIGN TRADE STATISTICAL HIGHLIGHTS QUARTERLY IN THE JOURNAL FOREIGN TRADE. AT THE SAME TIME, WE BELIEVE THAT MUCH MORE EFFORT IN THE GENERAL DIRECTION OF

PUBLICATION OF PRODUCTION AS WELL AS TRADE DATA IS ESSENTIAL IF THE FULL ADVANTAGES AND MUTUAL BENEFITS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE ARE TO BE ADVANCED. AS A SPECIFIC EXAMPLE, WE WOULD NOTE THE LANGUAGE OF THE FINAL ACT CONCERNING THE READINESS OF PARTICIPATING STATES TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY AND INCREASE THE SUPPLY OF ECONOMIC AND RELEVANT ADMINISTRATIVE INFORMATION, INCLUDING DETAILED STATISTICAL INFORMATION ON THE PLAN FOR PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION, AS WELL AS "FOREIGN TRADE STATISTICS DRAWN UP ON THE BASIS OF COMPARABLE CLASSIFICATION INCLUDING BREAKDOWN BY PRODUCT WITH INDICATION OF VOLUME AND VALUE, AS WELL AS COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OR DESTINATIONS."

(C) CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF BUSINESS CONTACTS AND FACILITIES, WE CONTINUE TO SEEK AND SUPPORT A MODIFICATION AND ELIMINATION OF RESTRICTIVE PRACTICES AND CONDITIONS WHICH IMPEDE THE CONDUCT OF COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY. PARTICULARLY WE WOULD HOPE THAT AN EARLY RESOLUTION OF PROBLEMS RELATED TO THE PROVISION OF SUITABLE BUSINESS AND RESIDENTIAL PREMISES FOR PERMANENT REPRESENTATION COULD BE EFFECTED AND THAT THIS EFFORT COULD EXTEND AS WELL TO PROBLEMS BUSINESSMEN AND COMMERCIAL REPRESENTATIVES ENCOUNTER WHEN TRAVELING OR WORKING, EITHER TEMPORARILY OR SEMI-PERMANENTLY, OUTSIDE OF THE MAJOR INDUSTRIAL OR COMMERCIAL CENTERS. OF KEY IMPORTANCE IN THIS AREA IS THE EVENTUAL PROVISION OF ASSURED AND PREDICTABLE MEANS OF PROVIDING ONGOING PROJECTS WITH NECESSARY SUPPLIES AND SPARE PARTS, AND OF RELIABLE MEANS OF COMMUNICATIONS.

(D) CONCERNING THE SOVIET PROPOSALS FOR CONFERENCES ON ENERGY, TRANSPORT AND THE ENVIRONMENT, WE CONTINUE TO GIVE CONFIDENTIAL

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CLOSE ATTENTION TO THESE TOPICS. WE ATTACH PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE TO THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE, DEFINED FOR CERTAIN TOPICS BY THE FINAL ACT, AND TO CONSIDERATION AT THE UPCOMING 32ND SESSION OF THE ECE OF DECISION D (XXXI) TAKEN AT THE 31ST SESSION THIS YEAR. WE EXPECT ECE DELIVERATIONS TO PLAY A SUBSTANTIAL ROLE IN DETERMINING OUR OWN FUTURE VIEWS ON THESE PROPOSALS.

(E) CONCERNING TOURISM, WE REGRET THAT THE SMALL NUMBER OF SOVIET TOURISTS VISITING THE UNITED STATES APPEARS TO HAVE DECLINED RATHER THAN INCREASED SINCE THE FINAL ACT WAS SIGNED. ALTHOUGH THE DISCUSSIONS WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE WITH SOVIET AUTHORITIES CONCERNING BROADER OPPORTUNITIES FOR SOVIET CITIZENS TO VISIT OUR COUNTRY HAVE NOT YET BEEN LED TO CONCRETE RESULTS, WE HOPE THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WILL GIVE RENEWED ATTENTION TO PROGRESS IN THIS AREA, AND THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO WORK TOGETHER TO

BRING ABOUT AN INCREASE IN THE TRAVEL OF SOVIET TOURISTS TO THE UNITED STATES TOWARD A LEVEL WHICH IS MORE COMPARABLE TO THAT OF AMERICAN TOURISTS VISITING THE SOVIET UNION.

22. CONCERNING COOPERATION IN HUMANITARIAN AND OTHER FIELDS, WE SEE TWELVE POINTS WHICH MIGHT USEFULLY BE DISCUSSED BETWEEN OUR TWO SIDES:

(A) IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN CONTACTS:

1. AS BEFORE, IT IS OUR VIEW THAT THERE IS NO OTHER AREA COVERED BY THE FINAL ACT WHERE A CONSISTENT RECORD OF STEADY PROGRESS CAN BRING SUCH IMPORTANT BENEFITS FOR BOTH SIDES AS TRAVEL FOR FAMILY REUNIFICATION, FOR MARRIAGE OR FOR FAMILY VISITS. THE INTEREST OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC AND THE CONGRESS IN SUCH TRAVEL IS SHARED BY THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH, AND REMAINS AND WILL REMAIN UNABATED. WE NOTE WITH SATISFACTION THAT THE NUMBER OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION CASES HAS INCREASED IN 1975, AND WE ARE GRATIFIED BY FAVORABLE DECISIONS CONCERNING APPLICATIONS FOR TRAVEL OF PERSONS INCLUDED ON OUR MOST RECENT REPRESENTATION LIST. AT THE SAME TIME, IT MUST BE NOTED THAT THE RATE OF RESOLUTION OF CASES ON THE CURRENT LIST IS THUS FAR AT AN ALL TIME LOW. WE HOPE THAT THE FAVORABLE RESOLUTION OF THESE CASES WILL RECEIVE PRIORITY ATTENTION FROM THE SOVIET SIDE, WITH A VIEW TO SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASING THE NUMBER OF CASES FAVORABLY RESOLVED.

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2. IN CONNECTION WITH FAMILY REUNIFICATION, WE AGAIN DRAW THE ATTENTION OF THE SOVIET SIDE TO THE REQUEST, MADE DURING OUR RECENT REVIEW OF CONSULAR RELATIONS, FOR CONSIDERATION OF SOME ARRANGEMENT BY WHICH THE AMERICAN SIDE COULD BE INFORMED ON A REGULAR BASIS OF THE REASONS FOR VISA REFUSAL IN CASES OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO US.

3. ANOTHER AREA OF GREAT INTEREST TO US INVOLVES THE FINAL ACT COMMITMENT TO FACILITATE BINATIONAL MARRIAGES BETWEEN CITIZENS OF SIGNATORY STATES. WE ARE GRATIFIED THAT MARRIAGES BETWEEN CITIZENS OF THE U.S. AND THE USSR HAVE INCREASED IN NUMBER IN 1976 AND THAT MOST TRAVEL APPLICATIONS BY SOVIET CITIZEN SPOUSES HAVE BEEN RESOLVED RELATIVELY EXPEDITIOUSLY (EXCEPT FOR THE UNFORTUNATE LACK OF MOVEMENT IN THE MCCLELLAN CASE). WE HAVE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT SOME AMERICANS HAVE BEEN REFUSED VISAS TO TRAVEL TO THE USSR FOR THE PURPOSE OF MARRIAGE. WE BELIEVE THAT

FACILITATIONS OF MARRAIGES OUGHT REASONABLY TO BEGIN WITH ISSUANCE OF AN ENTRY VISA, AND WE HOPE THAT VISAS WILL, IN THE FUTURE, BE MORE READILY ISSUED TO AMERICANS TRAVELING TO THE USSR TO BE MARRIED.

4. IN CONNECTION WITH TRAVEL FOR PERSONAL AND
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PROFESSIONAL REASONS, WE ALSO DRAW THE ATTENTION OF THE SOVIET SIDE TO OUR PROPOSALS CONCERNING ISSUANCE OF MULTIPLE ENTRY-EXIT VISAS FOR BUSINESSMEN, AND OF EXIT VISAS VALID FOR THE DURATION OF STAY FOR CULTURAL AND SCIENCE EXCHANGEES, MADE DURING OUR RECENT REVIEWS OF CONSULAR RELATIONS AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS. WE LOOK FORWARD TO EARLY RENEWAL OF DISCUSSION OF THESE AND OTHER ISSUES IN THE CONTEXT OF OUR REVIEW OF CONSULAR RELATIONS.

5. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE REITERATE OUR READINESS TO ABOLISH, ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS, TRAVEL CONTROLS APPLIED TO SOVIET OFFICIALS WITHIN THE UNITED STATES. IF IT IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR THE SOVIET SIDE TO ACCEPT THIS PROPOSAL, HOWEVER, WE PROPOSE CONCRETE DISCUSSION LEADING TOWARD A SIGNIFICANT MUTUAL RELAXATION OF TRAVEL CONTROLS AND A SUBSTANTIAL EXPANSION OF TRAVEL OPPORTUNITIES FOR CITIZENS OF THE TWO SIDES IN BOTH COUNTRIES, ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES:

-- A MAJOR REDUCTION IN CLOSED AREAS, TO THOSE CLOSED FOR REASONS OF A SERIOUS SECURITY NATURE;

-- NOTE-FREE TRAVEL BY AIR AND RAIL BETWEEN NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON, WASHINGTON AND SAN FRANCISCO, SAN FRANCISCO AND NEW YORK, MOSCOW AND LENINGRAD, MOSCOW AND KIEV, KIEV AND LENINGRAD;

-- REDUCTION OF CLOSED AREAS AND ADDITIONAL NOTE-FREE TRAVEL IN THE WASHINGTON, SAN FRANCISCO, MOSCOW AND LENINGRAD AREAS;

-- EXPANSION OF AREAS SUBJECT TO 24-HOUR PRIOR NOTIFICATION RATHER THAN 48-HOUR PRIOR NOTIFICATION;

-- EXTENSION OF THE ABOVE TRAVEL RIGHTS TO ALL
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SOVIET AND AMERICAN CITIZENS RESIDENT IN THE OTHER'S COUNTRY;

-- SIMILAR TREATMENT FOR BUSINESS AND OFFICIAL EXCHANGE VISITORS WHOSE ITINERARIES MUST BE NEGOTIATED, ALTHOUGH THEY ARE NOT FORMALLY SUBJECT TO TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS.

6. IN THE SAME CONNECTION, WE HAVE NOTED SOVIET INTEREST IN U.S. POLICY WITH REGARD TO TRAVEL BY REPRESENTATIVES OF CERTAIN SOVIET SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS. WE RECALL THAT THIS TOPIC WAS DISCUSSED DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH CONCLUDED WITH FINAL ACT. THE SOVIET SIDE IS THEREFORE AWARE OF OUR POSITION, AND OF THE REASONS FOR IT, IN THE CONTEXT OF THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE.

(B) IN THE FIELD OF INFORMATION:

1. THE AMERICAN SIDE IS COMMITTED TO THE FREE FLOW AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION THROUGH INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING, IN KEEPING WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT CONCERNING FREER AND WIDER DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION OF ALL KINDS AND EXPANSION IN THE DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION BROADCAST BY RADIO, IN PARTICULAR, SO AS TO PROMOTE MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AMONG PEOPLES AND THE AIMS SET FORTH AT THE CONFERENCE. IT IS OUR FIRM VIEW THAT RADIO BROADCASTING UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE BOARD FOR INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING IS FULLY CONSISTENT WITH THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE FINAL ACT. IT ALSO REMAINS OUR VIEW THAT INTERFERENCE WITH THIS BROADCASTING IS INCONSISTENT WITH THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE FINAL ACT, AND SHOULD BE ELIMINATED, IF THE GOALS SET FORTH IN THE FINAL ACT ARE TO BE MET.

2. WITH A VIEW TO FACILITATING THE DISSEMINATION OF PRINTED, NON-PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS OF THE OTHER

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SIDE ON EACH OTHER'S TERRITORY, WE PROPOSE EARLY INITIATION OF DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN APPROPRIATE INTERLOCUTORS CONCERNING THE POSSIBILITY OF ESTABLISHING COMMERCIAL BOOK OUTLETS IN MAJOR URBAN CENTERS IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS.

3. IN THE SAME CONNECTION, WE PROPOSE AN EARLY MEETING BETWEEN EMBASSY REPRESENTATIVES AND MEZHDU-NARODNAYA KNIGA OFFICIALS TO DISCUSS OPPORTUNITIES FOR INCREASING THE AVAILABILITY THROUGH NORMAL COMMERCIAL CHANNELS OF PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS.

4. WITH A VIEW TO IMPROVING ACCESS BY THE PUBLIC TO PRINTED PUBLICATIONS IN BOTH COUNTRIES, WE PROPOSE INITIATION OF DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN APPROPRIATE OFFICIALS OF THE TWO SIDES CONCERNING ESTABLISHMENT OF LIBRARIES AND READING ROOMS OUTSIDE EMBASSY PREMISES IN WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW, AND CONCERNING THE PROCEDURES WHICH WOULD GOVERN THEIR OPERATION.

5. WITH A VIEW TO PROMOTING THE IMPROVEMENT OF DISSEMINATION OF BROADCAST INFORMATION, SPECIFICALLY WITH REGARD TO THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE, WE PROPOSE EARLY INITIATION OF CONTACTS CONCERNING THE POSSIBILITY OF LIEV TELEVISION BROADCASTS OF PANEL DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN COMPETENT SOVIET AND AMERICAN JOURNALISTS ON THE SUBJECT OF THE CONFERENCE AND ITS RESULTS.

6. WITH A VIEW TO FACILITATING WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS, WE PROPOSE AN EARLY MEETING BETWEEN EMBASSY REPRESENTATIVES AND OFFICIALS OF THE MINISTRY'S PRESS DIVISION TO DISCUSS THE CURRENT STATUS OF AND MEANS OF IMPROVING WORKING CONDITIONS FOR SOVIET AND AMERICAN JOURNALISTS IN THE TWO COUNTRIES. END TEXT.
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23. IF IT PROVES POSSIBLE TO MAKE PROGRESS IN A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF AREAS SUCH AS THESE ON THE BASIS OF A PRESENTATION LIKE THAT RECOMMENDED ABOVE, EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT U.S. WILL HAVE ESTABLISHED STRONG POSITION WITH ALL OTHER PARTICIPANTS AS CSCE ENTERS BELGRADE PHASE.

24. DEPARTMENT REPEAT AS DESIRED.

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